1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

562 233 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there 562 462 233 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 462 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the [156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut [252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They [372] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut [312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the [482] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family. [222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs [241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable [235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They [432] also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and CCO other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
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The President has more direct control over the man who is employed by the village to regulate the flow of water to the village vegetable gardens. He is able to arrange matters so that a fair share of water is given to, or withheld from, a Sarakatsan family.

For a number of purposes the Sarakatsani require the signature of the President on forms, certificates, or passes. He may be able to cause considerable trouble to a shepherd through delay, or by finding technical irregularities in his documents. These powers of the President are particularly feared. Although some of the leaders of co-operating 'companies' of families are extremely able and alert men, the ordinary Sarakatsan head of family is completely bewildered by documents, printed forms, and regulations, most of which are written in an official language which he only half comprehends. A Sarakatsanos with a large family and only 60 sheep lost six of his animals through disease in the summer of 1955. He came to the village office to ask the President to sign a form for a loan from the Agricultural Bank to replace the dead animals. At the time he was in considerable difficulties, his family was short of flour, and on account of his poverty, small flock, and deep indebtedness, his cheese merchant would make no further advances of credit. There was no doubt about the authenticity of his claim. The agricultural guard had made a report that the animals belonged to this man and that they had the unmistakable symptoms of liver fluke. After ignoring the man's presence in the office for about three-quarters of an hour, the President suddenly pointed to one of the many conditional clauses in the regulations printed in small type. 'You understand that yours is a difficult case. It is only five days since you arrived here from the plains and this clause says that confirmation of the details of the case must be signed by the President of the village where the disease was contracted. Obviously they became sick in the plains or on the road; anyway, not here. Perhaps you must return to Philippiada to have this signed. However, I shall write to the Ministry of Agriculture in Jannina and we shall see.' The man haltingly explained his difficulties, referring to the plight of his family. The President spread his hands and smiled benignly, 'You know that I always try to help you tent-dwellers (σκηνίτες) but in this case,' putting his thumb on the offending clause, 'what

233 /90/ --Pastures for the milch-ewes.
232 --Pastures for the sterile ewes.
--Pastures for the lambs up to the age of one year.

The best pastures are reserved for the ewes that have just given birth and for the milch-ewes. The lambs up to one year and the gravid ewes browse on grass of lesser quality; finally, the rams and sterile ewes must be content with the poorest pastures.

The goats, as we know, are kept in places generally quite far from the sheep pastures and rough in appearance, with stony ground covered with holly or other shrubs of which they are fond.

However, the kids sometimes graze together with the lambs in the same pastures.

231 Finally, for the beasts of burden, sheltered places with very
232 thick grass are chosen.

231 Crops and grains: nevertheless, the pastures are not always
233 sufficient for the needs of the animals. Therefore the Sarakatsani
24 are sometimes induced to cultivate part of the land (which is very
[439] rare), or even to buy grains in order to feed their livestock. However, these practices are only a secondary contribution and it is from the pastures, thus from the direct exploitation of nature, that the Sarakatsani obtain the bulk of the food for their flocks.

233 Schedule of pasturing: as a general rule, the flocks graze only during the less hot hours of the day and during the night. However, if we go into detail we find that:

During the winter, the shepherds take the animals out and let them graze first between midnight and three o'clock. After that the livestock is again shut up in the sheepfolds. The ewes that have young do not graze during the night, so as not to expose the latter to bad weather. Of course, when the lambs are big enough they follow their mothers to the pastures even during the night. The flocks go

/404 cont./
cities and their life. Some even went abroad (one of our informants served in Korea). It is therefore easy to imagine that upon their return home they became likely agents for changes.

b) Communal pastures were opened to the Sarakatsani. According to the Greek system of use of national land, each village has meadows for the inhabitants engaged in animal husbandry; they have the exclusive use of them and benefit by easy terms. The Sarakatsani took advantage of them. They set up their huts on the edge of villages and thereafter practiced transhumance. Moreover, they took part in the life of the community and some were even elected municipal councillors.

c) In the third place, along with herding they sought supplementary jobs, which they performed in the village. The prospect of profit broke the shackles imposed on the women. They too started to engage in certain occupations (machine knitting, commercial weaving, paid farm work, work in nearby factories, etc.), and to earn money. Thus, the condition of the woman changed completely from one day to the next.

d) Finally, the Sarakatsani children were compelled to attend school.

Measures benefitting the "landless."

The Sarakatsani without real estate, benefitted from these measures. Plots were distributed at the rate of one per conjugal family. The Sarakatsani established themselves on them, and with credit allotted by state organizations they have begun to build houses and create villages where they engage both in limited herding and farming.

Measures benefitting lessees of pastures.

At the beginning of the second World War the government decreed that all lessees of properties, including pastures, were to remain where they were. Though modified, this /405/ measure is still in force. As a result, all the Sarakatsani profited from it, and from that time have settled on leased sites.

/405 cont./

177 241 233 Finally, socio-economic policy benefitting farmers and herders.

This policy includes:

[452] 1. Financing by the Agricultural Bank of Greece and the granting of raw materials on credit.

[474] 2. The creation and running of cooperatives for buying and selling products.

[746] 3. Agricultural social security.

* * * *

177 This enumeration of the events that form the basis for change, though brief, nevertheless answers the questions posed above.

The assault on the life of the Sarakatsani clearly comes from the outside. It emanates from the surrounding milieu and not from their own milieu, and it can be narrowed to various factors.

The space occupied by the Sarakatsani is conspicuously narrowed. [233] [361] The ecological basis of their society is modified. Physically speaking, isolation in distant regions and nomadic herding become impossible. Moreover, socially speaking, isolation is no longer justified since [641] surrounding society is no longer hostile. The civic rights of Sarakatsani are recognized, protected and respected.

Kinship, cooperation and the community are losing their meaning. [657] Once the state undertakes to finance herding, to ensure education of guarantee security, to exercise foresight to organize cooperation, etc., the omnifunctionalism of the family and the Tséligato no longer has a reason for existing.

[594] [425] Communal patriarchism is likewise shattered. When land is distributed to conjugal families, they are established as autonomous economic units. They are thus emancipated. The economic family community gives way to individualism and small-scale individual enterprises.

1:Sanders 2-514 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Vlachs EH15
Sarakatsani EH14

health. A third effect is that agriculture is almost impossible and is in consequence despised. Finally, home comforts must be portable. That is why an abundance of rugs, blankets, carpets, and cushions seen in these migrations is a sign of wealth.

But what of the Sarakatsani, the Greek-speaking group? [10] Already on a recent drive between Thebes, Lamia, and Volos, cities in Boeotia and Thessaly, I had looked down from the winding mountain roads into their small winter settlements of conical reed huts and circular reed sheepfolds. As we had passed we found the men and boys with their flocks not far from the road. We stopped to pass the time of day.

"How is the pasture this year?"

"Not very good" was the cautious reply.

"Are you Koutso-Vlachs or Sarakatsani?"

"We are Sarakatsani, but we also are Greeks."

Nearer Volos we found that the Sarakatsani, who originally had their huts just on the outskirts of the village, had settled down, building permanent homes. It was a striking contrast to see the reed hut a few feet away from the square mud-brick and mud-plaster house and to know that in case the family got too large some of the members would retire to the old hut and get along very well.

It was in Kalpaki, however, a settlement beyond Ioannina toward the Albanian border, at the edge of the Iron Curtain, that we enjoyed true Sarakatsani hospitality. Actually a Greek peasant village, its members had been increased by the forty Sarakatsani families settling there since the war, primarily to take advantage of the land left untilled by people moving away from disturbed frontier conditions. These forty families really had another village, Kato-Pethini, one-and-a-half-hours walking distance farther up the mountains, where they had their stone houses — something exceptional for those supposed to be Skenites (tent dwellers). Since they were working the fields around Kalpaki, it was here they now lived all the year around, apparently content with their reed houses, most of which followed a rectangular pattern rather than the more common circular shape. The women handled most of the agricultural tasks, but the men went back to the old Kato-Pethini with the flocks and returned to Kalpaki every ten or fifteen days for a change of clothing and a bath. Konstantin, a twenty-two-year-old youth whom we found grazing his sheep around the edges of the cultivated Kalpaki fields, had come down below with his flock for that purpose.

He invited us into the hut to meet his mother and sisters. We first entered the anteroom of the simple reed structure, from which chickens flew out as we came in. There we saw the woolly puppies that would grow up to be the menacing sheep dogs so necessary for the shepherd when alone with his flock. There also was the inevitable water barrel and near the cooking hearth the *ghastra*, the dome-shaped cover that is like a dutch oven. We

1:Sanders Z-5,4 (1952-1959) 1962 EH1 Greece EH1
Sarakatsani EH14

This was the cue for us to go outside and watch one of the girls weave on a loom set in a hole about two feet deep and covered with reeds at a height enabling the girl to crawl in for protection from the sun and weather. There in her little foxhole she shuttled away merrily, eagerly and proudly displaying her technique on the narrow brightly figured belt she was weaving. The knowledge that she must get together a big dowry of woven goods before she marries keeps her constantly working. She seemed to experience a certain sense of creativity, both in the pattern she evolved and in the finished product. At least, she had a skill that in the minds of the Sarakatsani set her off from the Karagouni.

Before we left, we talked to Konstantin again. "What is it like up in Kato-Pethini?" we wondered. He told us that a few families still stayed there the year around. Often in the case of a large family the mother and children might stay below near the fields while the shepherd would take his eldest daughter up above to do his cooking and help with the sheep. Konstantin was a hired shepherd of the president of the village council up above, but he hoped some day to have a flock of his own.

This tendency of the Sarakatsani to turn to agriculture when land becomes available was evident in several places. An added incentive to settling may be the emphasis they have long placed upon education for their children. Earlier I had read accounts of large family groups of Sarakatsani of their own accord employing teachers to accompany them on their summer migrations so that the children would not be disadvantaged. When I was in the Lake Prespa area, where Greece, Albania, and Yugoslavia come together, I learned from one of the junior Greek officers there that the Sarakatsani from St. Germanos, who practice transhumance, hire a teacher with their own funds to tutor their children while the regular school is not in session. For such people any visitor who looks even a little beneath the surface of their lives must feel a sense of amazement and respect. Down to what urban Westerners would term the barest level of existence — tiny dirt-floored reed huts, incessant work, and unceasing vigilance — like our early settlers on the edge of Indian territory, they show wit, intelligence, adaptability, and the desire for education, as well as a half-humorous detachment about the difficulties of their life. Fatigue, and a wish for better things are apparent; but bitterness and complaining are not.

One of the most enlightening and entertaining sessions on shepherd life in general took place in the office of George Sakellopoulos, the agricultural director for Epirus. This was in Ioannina, the picturesque provincial capital city. When the director learned of my interest in the nomads, he called together Nicos Mitrocostas, the president of the local shepherd's union, Leander Xenos, an agricultural-extension worker, and Christos Berates, a chief shepherd whose flocks were then passing through Ioannina on their way north.